

Message Text

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INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

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C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (TEXT--PART II FIRST PARA LINE ONE ADDED)

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E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: DEPUTY MINISTER SEMENOV'S STATEMENTS OF

JANUARY 12, 1978 (SALT TWO-1565)

JANUARY 12, 1978 (SALT TWO-1565)

THE FOLLOWING ARE STATEMENTS DELIVERED BY DEPUTY MINISTER
SEMENOV AT THE SALT TWO MEETING OF JANUARY 12, 1978:

SEMENOV STATEMENT, JANUARY 12, 1978

I WELCOME THE U.S. DELEGATION AND ITS STAFF AT OUR
MISSION IN GENEVA AT THE RESUMPTION OF THE NEGOTIATIONS ON
THE LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS, AS WELL AS THE
HONORABLE SENATOR MALCOLM WALLOP, SENATORIAL ADVISOR TO
THE U.S. DELEGATION, WHO IS TAKING PART IN THE MEETING
TODAY.

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I WOULD LIKE TO INTRODUCE THE NEW MEMBER OF THE USSR
DELEGATION GENERAL-MAJOR GEORGIY IVANOVICH USTINOV WHO, AS
YOU KNOW, IS CONCURRENTLY THE SOVIET SIDE'S COMMISSIONER
IN THE STANDING CONSULTATIVE COMMISSION.

THE FLOOR IS YOURS, MR. AMBASSADOR.

SEMENOV STATEMENT, JANUARY 12, 1978

- I

FOLLOWING THE SHORT RECESS, THE DELEGATIONS ARE CONTINUING THEIR WORK OF PREPARING DRAFTS OF THE NEW TREATY ON THE LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS AND THE PROTOCOL THERETO, AS WELL AS OF THE JOINT STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES AND BASIC GUIDELINES FOR SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATIONS ON THE LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS.

ON DECEMBER 24, 1977, L. I. BREZHNEV, GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CPSU AND CHAIRMAN OF THE PRESIDUM OF THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE USSR, HAVING NOTED THE IMPORTANT PLACE, WHICH FOR OBVIOUS REASONS IS NOW HELD BY THE SOVIET-AMERICAN NEGOTIATIONS ON THE LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS IN TERMS OF RESOLVING THE PROBLEM OF DISARMAMENT, EMPHASIZED: "THERE IS NO LACK OF WILLINGNESS ON OUR PART TO BRING THESE TALKS TO A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION. IN OUR OPINION THE POSSIBILITY TO DO SO DOES EXIST, AND I WOULD EVEN SAY A RATHER GOOD POSSIBILITY. TO JUDGE BY SOME STATEMENTS, THE U.S. SIDE, TOO, EXPRESSES DEFINITE OPTIMISM. I WOULD HOPE THE U.S. SIDE WOULD REINFORCE THIS OPTIMISM BY PRACTICAL DEEDS. I THINK THAT A NEW AGREEMENT WOULD BE A GREAT AND GOOD THING FOR THE USSR AND THE U.S., AS WELL AS FOR WORLD PEACE."

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WE PROCEED FROM THE PREMISE THAT THE DELEGATIONS WILL CONDUCT THEIR WORK IN A BUSINESSLIKE AND CONSTRUCTIVE MANNER, STRICTLY AND CONSISTENTLY COMPLYING WITH THE PRINCIPLE OF EQUALITY AND EQUAL SECURITY AND INADMISSIBILITY OF UNILATERAL ADVANTAGE.

THE WORK OF REACHING FINAL AGREEMENT ON THE DOCUMENTS BEING PREPARED RESTS ON THE EXTENSIVE FOUNDATION OF THE APPROPRIATE PROVISIONS OF THE JOINT DRAFT TEXT AS OF DECEMBER 16, 1977.

AT THE NEGOTIATIONS A TREMENDOUS AMOUNT OF WORK HAS BEEN ACCOMPLISHED TOWARDS REACHING AGREEMENT ON THE PROVISIONS OF THE DOCUMENTS BEING WORKED OUT. THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT THE ROAD ALREADY TRAVELED IN THIS FIELD IS MANY TIMES LONGER THAN THE ONE WE HAVE YET TO COVER.

- II

TODAY THE USSR DELEGATION INTENDS TO ADDRESS THE QUESTIONS OF REACHING AGREEMENT ON THE PROVISIONS OF ARTICLE II, PAR. 3--ON THE DEFINITION OF HEAVY BOMBERS.

IN THE COURSE OF THE QUITE LENGTHY AND DETAILED DISCUSSIONS ALREADY HELD, A CERTAIN PROXIMITY BETWEEN THE SIDES HAS EMERGED ON IMPORTANT ASPECTS OF THIS PARAGRAPH OF ARTICLE II OF THE DRAFT TREATY. IT IS NECESSARY TO GET DOWN TO THE SPECIFICS OF REACHING AGREEMENT ON THE FORMULATIONS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE OBJECTIVES AND TASKS OF THE DOCUMENT BEING PREPARED.

AS YOU KNOW, PRIOR TO THE RECESS, AT THE MEETINGS OF NOVEMBER 3, 17 AND 22 AND ALSO DECEMBER 6, 1977, THE USSR DELEGATION TABLED A NUMBER OF PROPOSALS AIMED AT REACHING

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INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

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AGREEMENT IN THIS AREA.

THE TERM "TYPES OF BOMBERS" HAS BEEN ADOPTED IN THE TEXT OF THE DRAFT TREATY.

THE FIRST SENTENCE OF THE DEFINITION IN ARTICLE II, PAR. 3, CONTAINS AGREED SPECIFIC TYPES OF BOMBERS THE SIDES CURRENTLY HAVE, WHICH UNDER THE NEW TREATY WOULD BE LIMITED AS HEAVY BOMBERS, NAMELY: TUPOLEV-95 AND MYASISHCHEV FOR THE USSR, AND B-52 AND B-1 FOR THE U.S.

IN THE FUTURE, INCLUSION OF NEW TYPES OF BOMBERS AS HEAVY BOMBERS WILL BE THE SUBJECT OF CONSULTATION BETWEEN THE SIDES ON A CASE-BY-CASE BASIS. WE ARE CONVINCED THAT SUCH AN APPROACH, BASED ON THE USE OF THE "TYPE" CONCEPT MUST BE CONSISTENTLY APPLIED WITH RESPECT TO ALL NEW TYPES OF BOMBERS WHICH ARE SUBJECT TO INCLUSION AS HEAVY BOMBERS.

THE DIFFERENCES NOTED IN THE JOINT TEXT OF THE DRAFT CONCERN, IN PARTICULAR, THE WORDS "HOWEVER CONFIGURED" WHICH APPEAR IN BRACKETS WITH FOOTNOTE 2 IN OUR TEXT. IT HAS BEEN REPEATEDLY STATED HERE THAT THIS KIND OF AN APPROACH IS INCONSISTENT WITH THE AIDE-MEMOIRE OF
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DECEMBER 10, 1974. INDEED, IF ONE WERE TO TAKE THIS PATH, THEN THIS BRACKETED FORMULA WOULD LEAD TO THE POSSIBILITY THAT AIRCRAFT WHICH ARE NOT HEAVY BOMBERS WOULD BE INCLUDED AMONG THE HEAVY BOMBERS BEING COUNTED; THIS WOULD NOT BE CONSISTENT WITH THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE OF EQUALITY AND EQUAL SECURITY, WHICH HAS BEEN AGREED BETWEEN THE SIDES.

I WOULD LIKE TO STRESS IN THIS CONNECTION THAT THE SOVIET SIDE PROCEEDS FROM THE PREMISE THAT TANKERS DEVELOPED ON THE BASIS OF AIRCRAFT OF THE SAME TYPE AS HEAVY BOMBERS MUST NOT BE COUNTED AMONG HEAVY BOMBERS.

FURTHER. ACCORDING TO AN EXISTING UNDERSTANDING, HEAVY BOMBERS, WHEN EQUIPPED WITH CRUISE MISSILES WITH A RANGE IN EXCESS OF 600 KILOMETERS, ARE TO BE COUNTED WITHIN THE 1,320 AGGREGATE NUMBER BEING ESTABLISHED UNDER THE TREATY.

IN THIS CONNECTION, IT IS PROPOSED TO AGREE THAT IF A BOMBER IS EQUIPPED FOR CRUISE MISSILES CAPABLE OF A RANGE IN EXCESS OF 600 KILOMETERS, THEN ALL BOMBERS OF THAT TYPE WILL BE CONSIDERED EQUIPPED FOR SUCH MISSILES.

HERE, THE SOVIET SIDE PROCEEDS FROM THE PREMISE THAT, IN THE CONTEXT OF THE PROVISIONS OF ARTICLE II, PAR. 3, BOMBERS ARE THOSE TYPES OF AIRPLANES WHICH HAVE BEEN SPECIALLY BUILT TO BE EQUIPPED WITH BOMBS OR MISSILES.

THE SOVIET SIDE PROPOSES THAT A CORRESPONDING PROVISION BE RECORDED ON THIS SCORE.

REACHING AGREEMENT ON THIS QUESTION WOULD MAKE IT
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CLEAR WHICH AIRPLANES, CONSISTENT WITH THE LIMITATIONS BEING WORKED OUT, COULD BE EQUIPPED WITH CRUISE MISSILES CAPABLE OF A RANGE IN EXCESS OF 600 KILOMETERS, ACCORDINGLY

BEING SUBJECT TO BE COUNTED WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE
1,320 AGGREGATE LEVEL BEING ESTABLISHED, OR COULD BE
EQUIPPED WITH AIR-TO-SURFACE BALLISTIC MISSILES CAPABLE OF
A RANGE IN EXCESS OF 600 KILOMETERS.

IN THE CONTEXT OF THE PROVISIONS OF ARTICLE II,
PAR. 3, SUCH AIRPLANES, I REPEAT, ARE BOMBERS, I.E.,
THOSE TYPES OF AIRPLANES WHICH HAVE BEEN SPECIALLY BUILT TO
BE EQUIPPED WITH BOMBS OR MISSILES.

IN THIS CONNECTION, IT IS ASSUMED THAT THE SIDES
WILL NOT FLIGHT TEST CRUISE OR BALLISTIC MISSILES CAPABLE
OF A RANGE IN EXCESS OF 600 KILOMETERS FROM TRANSPORT
AIRPLANES, THAT THEY WILL NOT DEPLOY TRANSPORT AIRPLANES
EQUIPPED FOR SUCH MISSILES, AND THAT THEY WILL NOT CONVERT
TRANSPORT AIRPLANES FOR THESE PURPOSES.

THE SOVIET SIDE HAS ALSO PROPOSED THAT AN AGREED
STATEMENT TO ARTICLE II, PAR. 3, BE WORKED OUT, TO THE
EFFECT THAT HEAVY BOMBERS OF A CERTAIN TYPE, AFTER REMOVAL
IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PROVISIONS OF PARAGRAPH 6 OF
ARTICLE VI OF ALL BOMBERS OF THAT TYPE FROM THE AGGREGATE
NUMBERS PROVIDED FOR IN THE TREATY, MAY BE CONVERTED AT THE
DISCRETION OF THE SIDE, UNDER PROCEDURES TO BE AGREED UPON
IN THE STANDING CONSULTATIVE COMMISSION, TO BE USED FOR
OTHER PURPOSES, INTER ALIA, AS TANKERS.

I WOULD LIKE TO REAFFIRM THAT IF THE TREATY BEING

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PREPARED IS CONCLUDED, THE SOVIET SIDE INTENDS TO DEACTIVATE THE MYASISHCHEV HEAVY BOMBERS AND TO CONVERT A PORTION OF THESE AIRPLANES FOR USE AS TANKERS. PROCEDURES FOR SUCH CONVERSION WOULD BE SUBJECT TO BEING AGREED UPON IN THE SCC IN ACCORDANCE WITH ARTICLE VI, PAR. 6, AND ARTICLE XVII, SUBPAR. 2(E), THE PROVISIONS OF WHICH ARE AGREED.

IN THIS CONNECTION, IT IS INTENDED TO GIVE ALL MYASISHCHEV TYPE TANKER AIRCRAFT ADDITIONAL FEATURES WHICH INDICATE THAT THEY CANNOT BE USED AS HEAVY BOMBERS. SUBSEQUENTLY, WHEN CONVERTING MYASISHCHEV TYPE HEAVY BOMBERS INTO TANKERS OR FOR OTHER PURPOSES, THEY, TOO, WILL BE GIVEN FEATURES INDICATING THAT THEY CANNOT BE USED AS HEAVY BOMBERS.

THUS, THE APPROACH PROPOSED BY THE SOVIET SIDE ENVISAGES A RADICAL SOLUTION OF THIS QUESTION, ON WHICH THE SIDES HAVE HAD DIFFERENCES FOR A LONG PERIOD OF TIME.

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IT IS ALSO PROPOSED THAT AN AGREED STATEMENT BE ADOPTED IN CONNECTION WITH ARTICLE II, PAR. 3, TO THE EFFECT THAT AIRCRAFT OF THE SAME TYPE AS HEAVY BOMBERS SPECIFIED IN PARAGRAPH 3 OF ARTICLE II, WHICH ARE EQUIPPED FOR OTHER PURPOSES, SHALL NOT BE INCLUDED AMONG HEAVY BOMBERS WHEN THEY HAVE EXTERNALLY OBSERVABLE DISTINGUISHING FEATURES DEFINITELY INDICATING THAT THEY ARE EQUIPPED FOR SUCH PURPOSES. IN THIS CONNECTION, WE WERE SPECIFICALLY SPEAKING OF SOVIET RECONNAISSANCE AIRCRAFT. BUT, OF COURSE, THE AGREED STATEMENT IS OF SIGNIFICANCE TO BOTH SIDES.

- III

NOW ON ARTICLE VIII OF THE DRAFT TREATY. AS CAN BE SEEN FROM THE JOINT DRAFT TEXT OF THE TREATY AS OF DECEMBER 16, 1977, THE PROVISIONS OF THIS ARTICLE ARE BASICALLY AGREED. IN THIS CONNECTION, THE SOVIET SIDE PROCEEDS FROM THE PREMISE THAT THE LIMITATIONS PROVIDED FOR IN THIS ARTICLE MUST ALSO APPLY TO BALLISTIC MISSILES CAPABLE OF A RANGE IN EXCESS OF 600 KILOMETERS. FURTHERMORE, IN REACHING AGREEMENT ON THE WORDING OF ARTICLE VIII, WE BELIEVE IT ADVISABLE TO USE THE TERM "BOMBERS," AS IT IS USED IN THE CONTEXT OF THE PROVISIONS OF ARTICLE II, PAR. 3, OF THE DRAFT TREATY.

- IV

MR. AMBASSADOR,

IN THE COURSE OF AN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS SOME TWO MONTHS
AGO, THE USSR DELEGATION TABLED A SET OF CONSTRUCTIVE
PROPOSALS ON QUESTIONS OF REACHING AGREEMENT ON PROVISIONS
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CONCERNING LIMITATIONS ON HEAVY BOMBERS IN THE CONTEXT OF
THE DRAFT OF THE NEW TREATY BEING WORKED OUT, TAKING INTO
ACCOUNT THE EARLIER EXCHANGE OF VIEWS. WE HAD PROVIDED
APPROPRIATE CLARIFICATIONS, AS WELL AS EXTENSIVE RATIONALE
IN SUPPORT OF THE PROPOSALS OF THE SOVIET SIDE. THE USSR
DELEGATION'S STATEMENT AT THE MEETING TODAY CONTAINS
ADDITIONAL PROPOSALS AND CLARIFICATIONS, WHICH ARE THE
RESULT OF THOROUGH ANALYSIS DURING THE WORKING RECESS.

WE ANTICIPATE A CONSTRUCTIVE DISCUSSION OF THE
PROVISIONS IN THIS AREA, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE GREAT
IMPORTANCE OF ARTICLE II, PAR. 3, OF THE DRAFT TREATY
WITHIN THE SYSTEM OF THE OBLIGATIONS BEING WORKED OUT, AS
WELL AS THE DESIRE FOR SUCH A DISCUSSION REPEATEDLY
EXPRESSED BY THE U.S. SIDE. EARLE

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